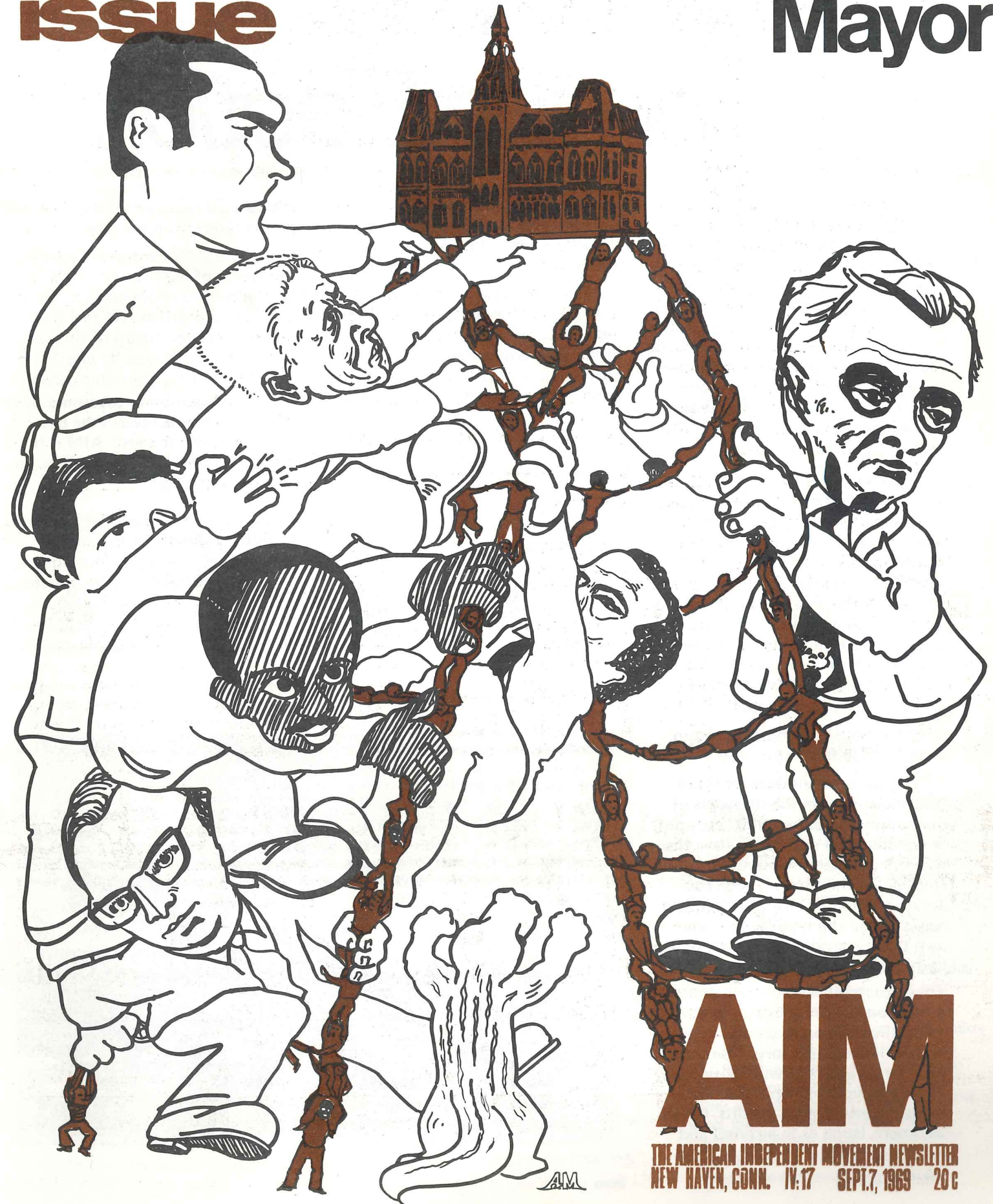


**special
issue**

The Race for Mayor



AIM

THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT NEWSLETTER
NEW HAVEN, CONN. IV:17 SEPT. 7, 1969 20c

PERSPECTIVE

on the Election

Today there is a widespread feeling of discontent in New Haven as well as throughout the country. After years of "urban renewal" and "the war on poverty," our city still has a housing and employment crisis. Air and water pollution threaten destruction of our environment. A large portion of our wealth has been used to produce vast amounts of wasteful military hardware and to wage a brutal war in Vietnam. Inflation has eaten away wage increases.

In order to try to pay for these problems, politicians have increased the taxes of working people to the breaking point. Nevertheless, the wealth in this country has increased steadily for the last 25 years — wealth created by the work of all the people. The few rich who own and control the big corporations have used this wealth for their own benefit while the pressing needs of the majority of people remain neglected.

How is our government used to keep the rich few rich?

The government does not have total control over the resources of our country. Neither politicians nor the people who elect them have the power to allocate the wealth of our country (in the form of large corporate profits) to meet the people's needs. Only the wealthy few who own the corporations have the power to determine how the money is spent. They accomplish this either through direct control or by using the government. For example, to insure continued flow of high corporate profits, the government will subsidize industries with oil depletion allowances, investment tax credits, direct payments (such as to airlines) and

guaranteed profit rates (such as public utilities). The government pays these benefits to big business by taxing workers.

We look to the government of New Haven (Mayor, Board of Aldermen, etc.) to deal with the problems of housing, education, transportation, protection, and pollution. A mayor or any other elected official cannot adequately deal with these social needs and at the same time provide

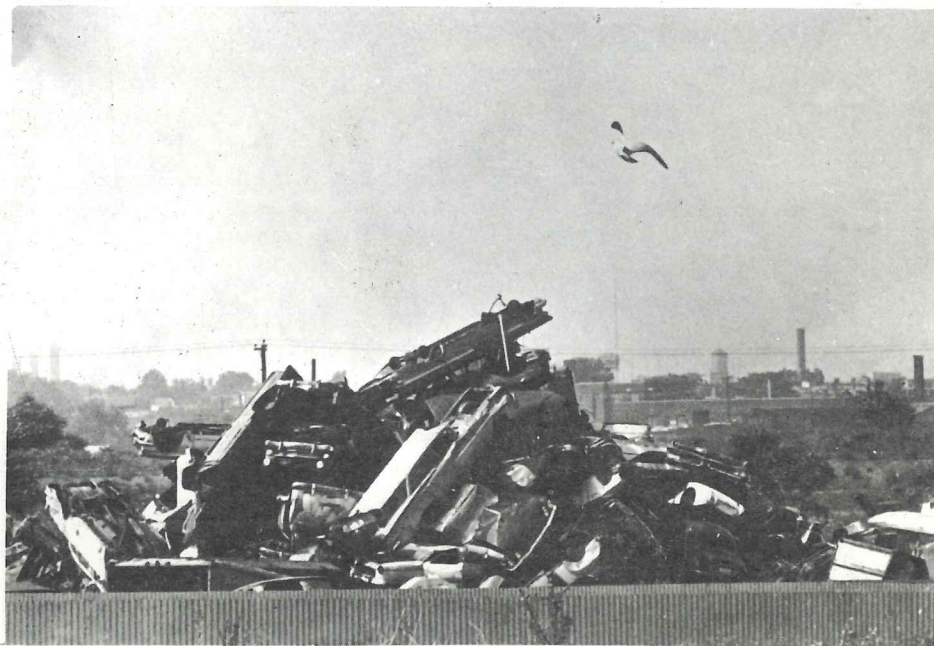
the services required by the large corporate interests in the city.

At this time six men are running for mayor of New Haven. AIM is not running or endorsing any candidates for this office. We feel that the desperate problems of this city cannot be solved now by electing a different mayor. Only through constant participation in governing themselves can people reverse the deterioration of our society. AIM is therefore continuing to work directly on New Haven issues.

We posed some relevant questions to each candidate for mayor and publish their answers in this Special Issue. For comparison, we present preliminary answers to these questions as AIM approaches them from its experience in direct political action.

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JOHN DIRIENZO

Liberty Party, American Party

Q: How would you evaluate the Lee Administration?

A: They were negligent not only of the taxpayers and the people of New Haven, but as an administration I feel they failed. They failed in the areas of housing, education, to the point of making our city a city of parking lots, highways, which had been their aim for some years. The redevelopment program started out to be something good in the beginning—I'm going back sixteen years when the mayor first took over—but then it slowly fizzled. And by this I mean they started tearing down and nothing was being built....All they seem to be doing is tearing down and causing businesses to leave the city, causing people to leave the city, and making taxes unbearable for the people who are living here.

Q: Where could the city get other revenue?

A: There are many businesses that want to come into New Haven. There are businesses that have been forced out that want to stay here and are not given cooperation by the administration or by redevelopment. For example, the Blue Cross negotiated for two years to get property here in New Haven.... They wound up moving to North Haven....The branch of Olin-Mathieson—it employs five or ten thousand people—they tried to negotiate for properties for over a year and a half. They claim that the properties the city was showing them would in no way help them or their employees. Therefore, they're moving to Branford.

You don't force large businesses or small businesses out of the city and expect the city to maintain trade, because people get discouraged....

Q: Do you think that property taxes are a good way to increase city revenues?

A: No, I don't. I think to get more business into the city is more equitable to the tax base. Right now everybody's talking about the 62 mills; but if the administration had to take care of the tax base needed to run this city, they should have gone up to 71 mills.

Because the city is in such dire need of funds that within another five years we'll be a bankrupt city. Because our bond issue is too great. We've gone from a triple A bond rating to a single A rating. And it can be verified that if you drop in a two or three year period from a triple A to a single A rating, you become a risk on the bond market....

Q: Why do you think the city hasn't built any lower-cost housing?

A: Well, I don't consider rents of \$125 a month low-cost housing; and I don't know of any low-cost housing that's less than that in the city....

We can give pay raises to higher-echelon officials, but the people in the custodial jobs and the policemen and the firemen aren't getting the pay they ought to. They're being held down where the upper echelon are getting three and four thou pay raises at a clip. But these poor guys have to go out on strike and picket to get ten cents an hour. This is ridiculous.

Q: What would you do about the low-cost housing problem?

A: There are programs within the federal government that can be had that I understand the city of New Haven has never applied for. There is one program that's been instituted since I began blasting Dick Lee where a person with a low or middle income can go anywhere in the city and pays a rent he can afford....and the government subsidizes the rest....The program is just about at a standstill; we're trying to find out why this is so....If we can build housing for the aged at forty dollars a month including utilities, why isn't there a program—which I'm sure there is—where we could do the same for low-income people? I don't feel the city has gone into this, because the majority of housing being built is being built by outside contractors taking over the properties and renting out on their own. This is why you have to have the rents that they are receiving.

I was asked at one of the ward

meetings what I would do about redevelopment if I got in as mayor....My answer was that I certainly wouldn't cut out redevelopment, but I certainly would build up where we've got all these vacant lots and try to bring business back in before I ripped down anything else. Redevelopment is a necessity because of what's been done already; we can't stop now what has already been done.

Take the people in the Hill: redevelopment is not helping in any way. They can argue that they've got inspectors going in. Well, if they do, every house in the Hill should be condemned that's in bad shape. The way they clamp down on other residential areas, like Fair Haven,...they could do the same thing for landlords in the Hill.... I think it's about time somebody started clamping down on these people and giving the people a decent place to live.

I supported the Municipality Rent-Control bill which got killed up in the Senate. It was an optional thing for every municipality. A lot of people are against rent-control, but I think it's often a very good thing.

Q: If you were elected, what would you do about Route 34?

A: I'd fight like hell to stop it again.

Q: Do you think there's a transportation problem?

A: I don't think transportation's so much of a problem. Our biggest problem in the city isn't the parking or the congestion; it's the fact that there are so darn many parking lots....I've thought about setting up parking facilities on the outskirts and bussing people in, eliminating the empty parking lots we have and utilizing them for small businesses. That would help us and the finances.

Q: How would you change the education system in New Haven?

A: There are many ways to change it. We need more textbooks, more teachers, better salaries, more curriculum. I understand they cut out a 10-thou-a-year teacher for Puerto Rican children. The upper echelon got raises, but a measly 10 thou Spanish-speaking teacher got

cut....It just shows me that the administration isn't concerned with helping the citizens of the city but just with how much they can stuff into their pockets and how much they can step on the little people.

Q: Do you go along with an elected Board of Education?

A: Definitely. If we had to have an appointed board, I think that all factions and areas should be represented. I think the people should decide on a resident who would best represent that locality.

Q: Would you prefer this local representation to the idea of community control that some people have advanced?

A: I think community control can cause a lot of trouble. I think it's better to have a representative from each area who go back to their neighborhood and say, "This is what the Board of Education wants," and try to get a consensus.

Q: You mentioned bringing back small businesses; yet many of the large businesses are exactly the ones who have been polluting....

A: When you talk about small businesses, you're talking about stores, not about anyone who's going to pollute. This is another area where the city is negligent. We have an air pollution board and they're not putting the pressure.... I had the problem in Fair Haven. It cost the company \$150,000 to correct it. But the stench is still there, and we're not getting satisfaction. I think we should close

them down until we get it.

Q: Then you would close down factories that caused pollution?

A: I'd close them down until it's corrected. I think that would hurt them more than just talking to them. And you know, a company is not just going to move in thirty days. When a large corporation decides to move, they don't just pick up and go....So I'm sure if you talk to them right, if you sit down with them, they'd be willing to cooperate.

Q: Do you think the people of New Haven should continue to subsidize Yale?

A: No, I don't. I think Yale should be made to pay a tax like every other college, even if it's a token tax....I know they pay tax on certain buildings, but I also know that Wesleyan University pays a 5.2 mill tax rate to the city of Middletown. If I become mayor, I intend to use that tax against Yale.... I know they're buying up a lot of property. I don't know what they intend to build there, but I'm getting scared. I also think that when Yale is given parking lots for free, they shouldn't charge their employees for parking.

Q: How do you define the law and order issue?

A: I think the law should be equal to all people regardless of race, creed, or color. I think the reason law and order has taken such a toll here — and New Haven has become one of the top cities in violations — because the administration

has hampered the police by not letting them do their job. The people are disturbed: kids, black and white, are hanging around on the corners raising heck. The streets aren't safe....People should be brought to know that cops are out to help them, not hurt them.

What breeds violations of the law.... We go back to the housing: here we've got poor housing; they go to the city administration, and it won't do anything about it. The people get discouraged; they don't care. That's where you get discontent, not only with the city administration but with the law enforcement agencies. And I think if we helped the people, we'd have a better world.

Q: What do you think has been the major source of conflict in the schools?

A: The problem in the schools isn't racial, it's discontent. Discontent with the subjects and with the teachers, teachers that are prejudiced. Having the teacher apologize (as in one case) isn't enough; the seed of discontent has been planted. Teachers in an urban school should come from that urban environment, because they know the problems of the children.

Q: Do you think public employees should have the right to strike?

A: I think they should; I don't see any problem in it. I think one serious thing would be police and firemen striking. But other city employees (trashmen, park employees, etc.) should have the right to strike.

larger businessmen in the community who redirected the program so that such things as housing and removal of slums became dissipated through just a number of insidious moves to bring about more business development—more highways, more hotels.

Q: How in particular would you evaluate Mayor Lee's redevelopment program?

A: I think that it's been successful in certain areas. But in terms of the Housing Act of 1949, which was to remove slums, it has failed miserably.

It's built up downtown New Haven. If you were here in 1957 or 56 and saw downtown New Haven, you'd say that this was a vast improvement. In addition to that, though, it has run a lot of small businessmen out of business; and it has, in a sense, decreased the tax base....

Q: What would you think is the reason New Haven has failed to build low-cost housing?

A: I think that we have to be honest and say that the federal limitations on low-income housing in terms of prohibitiveness of the cost is one significant factor. And there are other reasons: that it wasn't given priority....I mean that if we were not playing games with realtors and urban renewal and keep people locked in certain geographic locations in the community and using the available housing that was necessary, the moderate housing that was built might have relieved the pressure on the low-income housing which already existed.

Q: What would you do about low-cost housing if you were mayor?

A: The first thing that I would like to address myself to in the area of housing would be what I believe to be the marriage between the realtors and the urban renewal agency, which lets them not rent to certain people in certain areas....

Newhallville was rather white in 1956, 57. When blacks moved in there, they were forced; they weren't allowed to buy anywhere else. This was supposed to have been a great, wonderful opportunity for housing, better housing for blacks.... And so what had happened was that another ghetto was more or less created in an area...when there were other areas throughout the city which people could have been allowed to move into, but they were closed....

I think that redevelopment actually participates by saying first of all that this is going to be a renewal area, and so therefore lets people come in and purchase houses, and then we'll start the redevelopment process....Of course, you can't prove all this, but the pattern seems to be the same all over the city.

Q: And how would you see a renewal agency acting to counteract that sort of thing?

A: First of all, I'd like to see DNI separated and work as an autonomous agency.

I'd like to see it do its housing code inspection for the entire city rather than just in the areas that have been selected. I think that this would enable us to deal with certain slumlords who make it a practice of not fixing up properties but rather just to leave them there until they are apprehended.

In addition to that, I think that urban renewal then would have to be obliged to not move people into neighborhoods and then start their program maybe a year later and then say, 'Well, you don't have to fix this property up because we're going to tear it all down later on.' It seems to me what has to happen is we have to stop the kind of lawless demolition or razing of property and have them plan in such a fashion that we don't displace a lot of people with no place to go and take the properties down....

Q: Do you think that a new mayor could really make an impact given the city's commitments in terms of renewal and highways?

A: I think that we have to understand that you can't always go back and rectify all the mistakes that have been made....Those that are within your power....

If we're talking about Route 34—that all the properties have been purchased and razed; it's almost completed—then whoever goes into office January 1 is probably just bound to that....There'd be a number of implications about blocking Route 34, because you'd still have to answer the city's traffic problems; and that was one of the things Route 34 was supposed to have done. It's a 16-lane highway. If you wanted to deal with diminishing the width, that's another thing; if you wanted to talk about air space, there are a lot of considerations in terms of what is to be done....I wouldn't want to say here and now that I would block Route 34 around all circumstances, because it might not be the best thing to do for the city at the particular time....

Anyway, we need garages and we need roads in and out of communities. But what we seemingly have to do is find a number of ways for that. It may be that we need to deal with the mass transit problem.... And so, maybe what we'd have to do is demand new buses and new bus routes so that people can use them rather than have to drive to central downtown with cars, necessitating greater parking problems....

Q: Considering New Haven's fiscal problems, where would you get additional sources of revenue?

A: I think that one way that we can get additional revenue is to consolidate the community that we have and improve it in such a fashion that it draws people in. I think that the exit of whites in the New Haven community is a continuing thing.... And unless we are able to stem that tide, it seems to me that our tax base is going to continue to diminish along with a number of the services that some of those people have made to the community. I think that if we improve some of the services, particularly in education, that would be one way to consolidate....

In addition to that, I think that we're going to have to look in very seriously to the business of the kinds of aid and services in terms of tax relief we can get from either Yale University or from a number of other non-profit groups....We might have to consider a tax on people who work in New Haven but who live outside of New Haven.

I think that in addition to that we're going to have to continue to go to the state and federal government. I think that the federal government will increasingly see that it has a greater obligation to the cities, and that...the local governments are not going to be able to meet the needs of their broad community on a continuing basis....In addition to that, there are always foundations that give only small and limited grants....

In addition to that, we haven't been able to maintain or seemingly be super-interested in maintaining business in our community. A number of businesses have left the New Haven area....And it seems to me that as mayor of the city you've got to be super-aggressive about keeping the business community here....



Democrat—primary Sept. 25

HANK PARKER

Q: What is your evaluation of the Lee administration?

A: I think it ought to be clear that I am not one who feels that everything that has happened in New Haven for the past 16 years has been bad.... But I think that in the last 6 or 8 years what we had hoped for has turned out to be empty dreams. It makes you feel as though in some fashion they really were not going to deal with the problems of people in their first and original concept...even though they talked against urban renewal and talked about human renewal... So I would suggest that it has lost its base of communica-

tion with people and it has misguided its priorities, to the point that it has become injurious to the people's welfare.

Such things as the Coliseum, for example: we don't have that great recreation need in New Haven for a Coliseum; not with all the other places that we have available for us... But there could have been housing in place of the Coliseum. I think that most people don't understand that there is just another big garage going along with the Coliseum;... actually, half of that money is going to the garage.

I think that Route 34 is another example of what I might call lawless de-

molition without really meeting the needs for housing. The housing relocation rolls are supersaturated with people, and they don't have an opportunity to house the poor people in our community. There is no problem in white housing; there's a problem for black people to find housing.

I think that certainly the poverty program didn't go in the direction that it might have gone in....I think that those that Lee depended on for his communication were not the people who represented the broader community....I think they simply represented their own little personal selves....I think the other group that he listened to...was some of the

Q: What about the effect redevelopment has had on small business?

A: Well, I would think that the small businesses have sort of been run out of downtown New Haven simply because of the extremely large amounts of money they'd have to pay to lease the structures downtown....One of the things that I think you have to be careful about is the kind of tax exemptions that we give to businesses. Like Macy's, for example; Macy's has a tax exemption; and of course that's the only way they would come to New Haven in the first place....Maybe it's just as easy to go to a local store that serves the very same needs rather than giving such large exemptions and then having to pay that off; because it means that we're really in a sense paying them to be in New Haven.

I think some of the poor planing in New Haven came as a result of their over-zealousness to be the first to do everything. They were getting so many grants so fast. And you know those grants come in stages: you've got to buy property, raze it, and then....And they were just razing properties, and razing and razing and razing; and pulling in more money.... But as they were pulling in more money the poor planing was killing us....Maybe we should have administered funds so that we could have taken our time and made the kinds of plans that were consistent with good living in a community.

Q: Do property taxes seem a good way to solve the city's fiscal problems?

A: The property taxes have increased in New Haven just over the last year. That is going to be one phase of what the tax base has to be; it will not meet all the needs of our community....

Q: We'd like to go back to your saying that you'd have to look into Yale's payments.

A: The question I think we have to understand is, 'What is the fair amount of taxes, if any, that Yale should pay?' I don't think that saying \$3 million Yale should pay may meet our needs as such....Now Yale gets a number of services from the City of New Haven that it doesn't pay for, like the police department. They have the fire department and even have the public works department in certain areas. Now those are three services that New Haven can ill afford to give away these days. And unless Yale wanted to do all those services, causing us to diminish some of ours, that would be different; but they aren't going to do that. They can't exist in our community separate from the broader community....

Q: How would you deal with industries that are polluting the air; or how would you deal with large companies breaking the law?

A: Some of this may fall within the judiciary....As mayor of the city, there are limits on how much you can do; I don't even know those limits at the moment.

The pollution is still a problem in the community, both in the waterways and in the airways; and particularly here in New Haven. The problem with waterways is it's kind of regional: New Haven isn't the only area with something being dropped into the water, either refuse, or chemicals or what have you. In terms of smoke—there are ways that you can curtail it....

All I can say here is that I would like the decision that would be most appropriate to people. And when I say 'people', I'm referring to the broader community; but I'm also saying in a sense that there are some folks who have suffered as a result of a number of problems in our community more often than others, and that's the other group of the forgotten group. And I'm talking about them, too. Let's say if I say 'people', I mean emphasis on that group.

Q: What would you say is the source of racial conflict in New Haven, and especially in the schools?

A: I think that there are a number of areas. I think that the inequity of city services is one—the fact that the public works department cleans Court Street better than they clean Dixwell Avenue is an example. It has a tendency to make the guys on Dixwell Avenue feel differently about his community than maybe we feel about Court Street. It's the fact that a policeman in the Hill might kick down a door, and in Westville he might knock....

And I think that as mayor you can remedy some of those problems. You can make the public services be given out on an equitable basis.

Q: It seems to me the other side of racial tension is white people being racist; what do you think are the sources of that that you might deal with as mayor?

A: I talked about the tenure law that we have to deal with; people feel safe when they get into the schools and think that they can do whatever they wish to....In addition to that there are a number of evidences that are clear racism that ought to be dealt with in the schools. And it's not going to be dealt with in the schools. And it's not going to be dealt with if we have the same old appointed board that

we've had. It's going to be dealt with if we have the boards...that are really coming from the people where the problems are really felt the most. I think that if parents are involved here, that that goes a long way toward helping the problem of racism be diminished....

I don't think that you get rid of it totally, because our society is bringing up racist attitudes. People are taught to be racists; so if they are taught to be racists, we have to deal with it at a different level. In addition, what I was suggesting was that maybe we need to do the broad sensitivity training program...to have people like at themselves; and many people when they see themselves don't like what they see.

[Ed. note: Technical problems left us without a tape record of Mr. Parker's complete answers to two questions — those on education and law and order. The following is a summary of Mr. Parker's responses.]

For Parker, better education would take high priority as an area for his administration's attention. He advocates a nine man Board of Education with six elected representatives and three appointed. He would encourage greater parental participation and give students more say in their education. He thinks that students today are not only aware of what a bad deal they get in school but would make responsible decisions if given the chance.

Parker was reluctant to call this community control but felt it might work out to the same thing.

In addition he would like to see teacher tenure regulations changed and more teachers participating in sensitivity training sessions, perhaps conducted at Yale.

Parker first took exception to those who think preservation of law and order means suppressing black or white militants' activity. Nevertheless, he is as much for law and order as anyone. He feels that he may be better able to deal with the problem because he is black and from the community where law and order has most completely broken down.

Q: How do you feel about public employees having the right to strike;

A: I think that they ought to have the right to strike. I have no problems with that. I'd like to see more blacks get involved in the unions at a higher level...

I joined the postal alliance in their picket, and I would join any other group while I'm a candidate, if they're picketing somewhere and I think it's consistent with collective bargaining.

AIM on the Issues

LEGACY OF THE LEE ADMINISTRATION

New Haven under Mayor Lee has been called a 'model' for American cities. The kind of policies Mayor Lee was the first to put into operation are now being copied all across the country. The following figures show what these policies have meant for the 'Model City'.

Population:

1930	163,000
1940	161,000
1950	164,000
1960	152,000
1967	142,000

Property Taxes:

1954	35.5 mills
1969	62.25 mills
11 mill increase in 1968	
2.75 mill increase in 1969	

Grand List (Taxable Property)

1958	about 530 million
1968	about 598 million

Yale Endowment:

1958	190 million
1968	600 million

Demolitions through 1968 (not including highways):

4,718	housing units destroyed
2,127	units built
Deficit: 2,591 units (not including highways)	

Families officially displaced by urban renewal and highways: 1954-1964 (does not include Rte. 34)

3,027	white
2,061	non-white
example: 1,307 families displaced by I-91 alone.	

Housing built under Urban Renewal (Lee programs):

Housing for elderly—	333 units
Middle income—	742 units

Moderate income coops—	558 units
(does not include Friendship Housing)	
Upper and Middle income—	782 units
Low Income—	12 units

Pre-Urban Renewal low income housing:

1941-42 1035 units

1951-55 570 units

approximately 200 rent certificates given out under rent supplement program.

FINANCIAL CRISIS AND TAXATION

For the last several years government expenses on all levels have skyrocketed. We have consequently seen taxes take an ever-increasing share of our incomes — the federal 10% surtax, the 5% state sales tax, and an increase of 13.75 mills in the New Haven property tax over the last two years.

Everyone feels the pinch except the large corporations like Macy's and Olin who, to maintain their profit rate, pass

on tax increases as well as wage increases, in the form of higher prices. Landlords pass on property tax increases to their tenants by raising rents.

Out of the largest single tax — the Federal Income Tax — 45-50% is used for wasteful military spending (including the war in Vietnam), which is highly profitable for U.S. big business. This sort of government spending, along with tax breaks, services, and subsidies has the public paying the growing operating costs of big business while preserving private control of the resulting profits. In New Haven, for example, projects which will benefit business, like highways, garages, a Coliseum, and large downtown department stores, take precedence over low-cost housing, public transportation, and day-care facilities for children.

Property taxes, like sales taxes, are not progressive. Large corporations pay at the same rate as the small homeowner. In order to raise additional revenue in New Haven without further taxing individuals we can tax corporate profits, make property taxes progressive, and tax private educational institutions like Yale. However since we live in a society with private ownership, the above measures would be difficult to implement, especially on a local basis. If corporate



profits are taxed, the local branches would move to another city, state, or country. Progressive property taxes would deter business firms and construction companies from building. Taxing Yale would present severe "legal" problems since it is supposedly a "non-profit" institution.

In order to make these new tax measures effective, we would have to join together with people in other cities in Connecticut and other states of the union to establish uniform rent, price, and location controls and to demand an end to wasteful military spending.

LOW-COST HOUSING

It costs about the same amount to build an apartment for a rich family as it does to build one for a poor family. Both families need a kitchen, a bathroom, bedrooms and living space. The rooms for both families have to have floors, walls, ceilings, windows and doors. Therefore private developers prefer to build apartments for rich families because it's more profitable — they can collect high rents instead of low rents for basically the same apartment.

At the end of World War II the building industry made huge profits from legislation which encouraged private developers to build houses in the suburbs for middle and upper-income people. The federal government, through the FHA mortgage-insurance program and a heavy emphasis on highway building, reinforced the development of the suburban areas to house the growing middle-class. The cities were allowed to stagnate. The suburban towns zoned their development to exclude apartment houses or small homes within the reach of the working or unemployed poor. Racism denied entry to the few black Americans who could afford to live in the suburbs.

In the late 1950's and early '60's, the federal government started the Urban Renewal Program. Again the building industry made huge profits from legislation which encouraged private developers to build apartments downtown for the upper-income groups.

During this time the only government supported program to build housing for low income families was the

Public Housing Program. The building industry never liked this program because they saw it as a threat to the private housing market. Even this inadequate program soon ground to a halt, although slum clearance proceeded rapidly. Large areas of American cities soon became wastelands and developers refused to build anything but luxury housing and large office or commercial buildings. Meanwhile, the working-class and minority-group inhabitants were pushed around from one neighborhood to another and the housing shortage pushed rents up in every remaining neighborhood.

When Urban Renewal started in New Haven in 1954, the building of public housing just about stopped. Since 1954, only twelve units of housing for low income families, excluding the elderly, have been built, and about 200 rent certificates for low income families have been issued. Yet, at the same time, over 6000 units of housing for lower-income people have been destroyed in New Haven and a few thousand units of housing for upper-income groups built. This situation is so serious that the National Commission on Civil Disorders stated in its report that the violence in New Haven's low-income ghettos in August 1967 was largely caused by the housing deficit.

New Haven hasn't built any housing for low-income families because it's not profitable enough for private business. It probably never will be. It is important to recognize that all housing is subsidized, but upper and middle-income housing has received the vast majority of such support. These subsidies were financed by taxes which fall disproportionately on working-class people. Only a structural change in the system of taxation and distribution of the national economy will make it possible to house all Americans.

HIGHWAYS AND TRANSPORTATION

Reliance on private automobiles as the major mode of transportation in New Haven has meant that more and bigger highways are constantly being built through and into the city. Construction of these highways has been accompanied by the massive disruption of working-class neighborhoods and the loss of hundreds of houses and apartment buildings.

Exhaust fumes from the automobiles that use these highways are responsible for about 60% of the city's air pollution.

Highways in New Haven are always built in conjunction with downtown parking lots. The policy of road and garage building thus brings in an apparent need to build still more highways and garages. Route 34, I-91, the State Street project, East Rock Connector, and the planned Ring Road, are all the results of the Lee administration's highway-building mania.

There always seems to be public money available to build highways while other public works and services—hospitals, schools, and housing—are strapped for funds. Eight out of ten of the country's largest corporations are directly involved in automobile production. Their powerful lobbies ensure that this disastrous ranking of spending priorities continue, not only in New Haven but all over America.

New Haven is being crippled by the administration's emphasis on the automobile. An increasing amount of land is being taken from the tax list at a time when more revenue is needed to provide essential services.

Efficient, safe, and inexpensive mass public transportation is the only reasonable alternative to the highway and the automobile. If initiation of a mass transit system were accompanied by a halt in highways construction, we could perhaps begin to make New Haven habitable again. This would mean, too, that funds now used to build highways could be released and applied to areas of vital social needs.

SMALL BUSINESS

The stated goal of the Redevelopment Agency has been to make New Haven into a "slumless" city. They called Oak Street a "slum" and tore it down. In its place high-rent apartment buildings, Southern New England Telephone Company Headquarters, and Yale Medical School facilities were built. The people of Oak Street went; so did the small businesses that served them. Most of these small businesses couldn't relocate. They no longer exist.

A "slumless" city has turned out to mean a city centered around parking gar-



ages and high-rise office buildings. To make room for these, easily-accessible low-rent areas, which small businesses depend upon, have been cleared away. We are left with centralized shopping areas, mostly reached by car. Most of the businesses on Oak Street are gone. Those on State Street, Legion Avenue, and Washington Avenue are being destroyed, and those on Grand Avenue in Fair Haven are next in line. In their place Redevelopment is offering large retail operations that cater to middle and upper-income people and can afford space in the fancy new buildings, like the Chapel Mall.

The destruction of small businesses in New Haven and other cities is part of the changing national pattern. Where the distribution and sale of consumer products has been taken over by large corporations we do not go back to the family owned corner store. But, greater efficiency in marketing goods can still be accomplished through small community run stores which are centers of community activity.

POLLUTION

For its size, New Haven is one of the most polluted cities in the United States. Part of the air pollution is due to large industries, especially U.I., but most of it is due to private automobiles. The city and private industry take equal blame for the turning of our streams and harbor into open sewers.

that we don't pay the costs of maintaining profits for a few.

YALE AND NEW HAVEN

Yale University is New Haven's richest business. It owns property in the city assessed at about \$100 million. It uses police fire, public works, sewers, and other services paid for by city taxpayers. Yet Yale pays taxes on only about \$7.2 million of its property. The other \$95.2 million is tax-exempt. This means that the people of New Haven pay, with our rapidly increasing property taxes, for services to Yale—even though the University is actually worth at least \$600 million.

Yale also hurts the city in many other ways. Its constant expansion takes away badly-needed land we could use for housing and schools—from 1952 to 1967, Yale's city land increased from 125 acres to 167. The University's administrators and top professors, mostly imported from out of town, are well-paid, but New Haveners who work in Yale—New Haven Hospital and in service, clerical, and technical jobs at the University, are badly paid. Students and faculty contribute to our severe housing shortage because Yale hasn't provided housing for most of them.

And why does this rich institution exist? Not to serve New Haven. Very few New Haven students are admitted there. Yale exists to train the elite who run the country through big business and government.

At a minimum, Yale ought to be forced to pay the \$4.8 million in taxes it is exempted from because it supposedly 'benefits' the community. Our long-range goal ought to be to bring Yale's wealth and power to make decisions affecting us all under the control of all New Haveners.

RACIAL CONFLICT

The immediate cause of racial conflict today is black people have discovered they don't have to stay at the bottom of American society. Since the days of slavery, black people have always had the worst jobs, the lowest return for their work, the worst housing and the worst ed-

ucation. They have moved in tremendous numbers away from the poverty of the rural South to the crowded ghettos of the Northern cities. They are now demanding the things that are the rights of all people — a job, a home, and a good education.

It is profitable to the rich few to make sure that the workers who made and keep them rich don't get together. If workers united, they could demand the wealth that rightfully belongs to them. Those in power encourage the separation of workers in many ways: according to ethnic background, sex, religion and especially according to race. This division shows up in many ways: in schools, in mass media, on the job, and in the community — all of which are controlled by those in power.

Here are some examples of how white working people come to direct their anger at black people instead of at the system that is responsible for their problems:

— In schools, children are sometimes physically separated on the basis of race. In New Haven the proportion of black and Puerto Rican students in the schools is higher than the non-white population in the community. Because of poor public educational facilities, and the fear of racial tensions, those people who can afford it, send their children to private schools. The culture and heritage of all non-whites (blacks, American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans) has been systematically ignored in the public school curricula, an effective way of passing negative feelings on to children.

— Similarly, newspapers, radio, films and TV reinforce misconceptions about minority groups. The news and culture of working people in general is not faithfully portrayed in the mass media — black people get the worst of this kind of treatment. Recall the slanted coverage of the New Haven Black Panthers in local papers as part of the general "scare tactics" used against all minority struggles.

— Because our economic system cannot provide full employment, many working people see those on a lower economic level as a threat to their jobs. Everyone except for the owner must look out for his own job. Thus, the black man or woman trying to get a job becomes the enemy of the lowest paid white worker. Unfortunately, many unions which were originally set up to protect the rights of all workers have become victims of this misplaced struggle against the unemployed black workers.

— The splitting of working people on the basis of race is especially clear in New Haven communities. New highways have caused the wholesale destruction of housing for those who most need it and have resulted in the physical separation of the poorest ghettos from the rest of the city. The location of future highways (such as the Ring Road, Route 34) promise more of the same. Both white and black communities have been destroyed by urban renewal projects and highways. As in the case of employment, the struggle for decent housing turns white against black instead of bringing them together. The Wooster Square community has for many years reflected the rich heritage of

the large working class Italian population of New Haven. The Redevelopment Agency, in the process of "renewing" the neighborhood has driven out many white residents, and brought a solidly Republican ward into the Democratic column. The racial tension that erupted in the Columbus Mall development can be seen as an expression of resentment by many whites against the minority of black newcomers, who came into the area following its "uplifting" by the Agency.

— The particular suppression of black people, especially of those who demand their rights is characteristic of the tactics used against anyone who challenges the present economic system. Riot control and police brutality used today against black people are not very different from the methods used against workers in their struggles to organize unions. Those who demand too many changes are branded as criminals by those who in fact take more than their fair share of the wealth and power. This can lead many white people to fear black struggles and black people.

— Black leaders and groups who have recognized that the division of people on the basis of race is encouraged by those in power, have been especially suppressed. On the other hand, those black groups that have advocated "black capitalism" or those that have implied that all white people are the enemy have been encouraged by the power-structure. As a result separation of racial groups is reinforced.

STRIKES BY PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

The right to strike is the right of all working people, public employees included. Public services in America are already grossly inadequate and getting worse every day. The big corporations, who benefit enormously from these services, are responsible for this crisis. They have consistently refused to pay sufficient taxes to provide for high quality services, such as schools, medical care, and anti-pollution controls. This refusal has shifted the burden of paying for these essentials onto two groups: the already hard-pressed working people who are compelled to pay more for declining services through higher taxes; and the public employees who are forced to subsidize these services through their low wages. Since the corporations benefit directly from a better educated, healthier, and more mobile work force, all of us, in

effect, end up paying to support big business.

While public services are declining, the number of public employees is rapidly increasing. Public administration is already the largest single source of employment in the United States. Yet wages and salaries are lower than those for equivalent positions in private industry. The work of public employees is crucial to the functioning of modern society. These workers are entitled to the higher wages and decent working conditions needed to provide a comfortable life for themselves and their families. Yet whenever workers strike to make the politicians and businessmen running the government give them the incomes they deserve, these officials join with the newspapers in immediately accusing the employees of striking against the public interest.

To discourage such strikes by public employees in Connecticut the politicians have passed laws making them illegal, complete with the unbelievable fine of \$2500 a day per worker. Employers have always tried to outlaw strikes, simply because they know the right to strike provides important protection for the workers. Not so long ago there was no such thing as a right to strike. This was won in spite of brutal opposition from both business and government. Whether it will be retained depends on the willingness of all of us to demand the extension of this right to all employees. Already the government has wittled away at the number and kinds of employees who are allowed to strike, through the Taft-Hartley law and other anti-labor legislation. If we accept the government's view that certain people should not be allowed to strike what is to keep the government from including more and more workers in this prohibition?

AIM believes that striking public employees are striking in the interests of all of us. We think these workers should strike not only for economic demands but also over demands for improving the quantity and quality of public services, and in this they deserve the support of the public. For example, unless both parents and teachers demand better educational facilities, and unless teachers are willing to strike and parents to support that strike to achieve this, quality public education is impossible. Similarly, we think it is important for all public employees — policemen, fireman, engineers, and sanitation workers — to demand the training and equipment required to meet the public's

needs. Because large corporations and big landlords benefit directly from these services, provided at public expense, they should now be forced to pay for them through higher taxes.

EDUCATION

Although over 43% of New Haven's budget (23 million dollars) is allocated for education, both parents and students are frustrated by the school system. As an example of this frustration, the Board of Education decided to close all city high schools at 1 p.m., last spring. Everyone knew that the early closing was designed to avoid lunch period. The experience of the last two years showed that rebellion and rioting would result if the students were allowed to gather in the cafeteria. The Board would not admit this.

At the meeting where this decision was approved, some parents asked that the Board of Education be honest about why it was closing the schools early. The great majority of students, for whom school is not much better than a prison, thought closing at 1 p.m. was a great idea.

The school system is a reflection of the basic inequities that exist in our society. In fact, for most children that is where they begin. The rich and poor, black and white, each go to their separate neighborhood schools. In school the wealthier-home-taught children are in different classes from the others. (This is called tracking.)

Rich people can afford special educational facilities and have a large amount of leisure time to learn how to be administrators and leaders. Everyone else barely has time enough to learn how to work for them.

All but the rich white male are made to feel inferior by leaving out stories about working men and women of different ethnic backgrounds from children's reading books. (Andrew Carnegie is pictured as the hero who created America's steel, not the people working under terrible conditions in his steel mills.

However, no student — white or black, working-class or middle-class, Irish, Italian or Jewish — can learn about those different from him simply by being told by the teacher. Children learn through direct contact with students of other class, racial, and ethnic backgrounds.

Individual parents experience much opposition when trying to push for changes in the schools — especially regarding their own children. They find that if they make too much noise their child suffers even more as a result.

If parents could get together and as a group demand more direct involvement in the schools it might help the situation. However, for most people, long working hours would prohibit a meaningful contribution to their children's education — especially directly in the schools. Therefore, because parent involvement is essential, shorter working hours must be fought for first.

More money, more discipline, or even an elected Board of Education could mean just more of the same kind of channelling and divisions among people.

An integrated school system, in which the histories and experiences of all groups were studied, where racial and other conflicts were handled rather than suppressed, and where parents, teachers, and students shape the education, would provide students the chance to have a rich educational experience and to think about alternatives for social change.

LAW AND ORDER

The reason politicians talk about "law and order" is because there is so much crime in the United States. It is therefore crime, not "law and order", which is the focus of AIM's attention.

Another reason politicians talk about "law and order" is because it gives them a simple formula for dealing with very difficult and complex problems. Any candidate who promises to get "law and order" promises the big stick approach to social problems.

There are many types of crime, but in this article we shall talk about only three: robbery and crimes against persons, political crimes, and government and business crimes. The first two are in some way related to the law and order slogan, the last is, of course, rarely mentioned by the politicians.

Robbery and crimes against persons refer to all crimes which plague people in their neighborhoods and on the streets of our cities. In New Haven there are large areas where it is not safe to walk the streets at night.

The causes for crime are many and complex, and include many things that



the politicians don't like to talk about. No one knows, for example, how much crime we would have if everyone had enough to eat, a decent place to live and a fair income. The elimination of poverty will not by itself eliminate all crime, but the causes for crime are bound up with the economic and social problems of our slums and ghettos. We live in a society where the television screams at people all day to BUY BUY BUY because they NEED NEED NEED all kinds of things. At the same time one-fourth of our people are poor. Is it really surprising that we have crime?

Drug addiction and alcoholism are considered part of the crime problem. The reasons why people use narcotics are related to economic and social problems. The continuation of this problem is also related to the way it has been handled in this country. In England, drug addicts receive drugs at a cheap price from doctors while trying to kick the habit. The number of addicts proportionate to the population is much lower than in this country. This is reflected in the crime rate. There were 200 armed robberies in all of England last year. In Washington D.C., there are 700 per month. This shows that we cannot solve the narcotics problem with police tactics. We must deal with real social and economic problems and deal with addicts and alcoholics in a medically sensible way. Criminal prosecutions should be brought only against the big suppliers, who are rarely touched now, and who make the most money!

Other factors increase crime. It seems pretty clear that crimes seldom take place on busy streets. Muggers like to lurk in dark side streets where people walk alone. Streets are busy when they have mixed uses on them — homes, restaurants, and stores. Then people are coming and going and since the street has life on it many people watch the street from their windows. But in New Haven the city administration not only doesn't plan streets like that, but it destroys the ones we do have.

Sex crimes are a big problem in our society. But is that any wonder when sex is used to sell everything from politicians to soda pop? On the one hand, there is a very repressive attitude toward sex in this country. It has been difficult to get sex education into the schools, for example. On the other hand nearly nude women prance across the billboards and the television screen suggesting that if you use product X you can get the man or woman

of your choice to sleep with you.

Crime prevention and the punishment of offenders are two aspects of the crime problem that must be dealt with by the local community. Criminal laws exist for the benefit of people in a community and when people do not feel part of a community, crime increases. We have very few real communities in this country now. The political system doesn't encourage them and the politicians and businessmen find it easier to stay in power without them. The political and economic system in this country must change in a way to bring people closer together in real communities. These will be meaningful because they, not some politicians or powerful businessmen, will shape the



The scene at the Democratic nominating convention: The people try to speak.

course of their own development and that of our society. At that point people will have more at stake in their community. Crime should decrease. Although it will not be eliminated, it could then be dealt with by the whole community.

Convicts, for example, in such a society, could be released on parole not to some overworked and harrassed parole officer, but to the collective of workers at their work place or to their neighborhood organization. Our present prisons, with a heavy emphasis on punishment and a low emphasis on education, training and community support for convicts, are making the crime problem worse, not better.

There are many ways a community can work together on preventing crime and rehabilitation criminals. Neighborhood councils, for example, can

work with potential juvenile delinquents before they become serious criminals. The community must do more than hire itself a police force, give them some guns and then sit back and expect crime to be solved.

The second type of crime is political crime. Men and women who went through the struggle for unionization of this country will understand what is meant by political crimes. Time and again the workers had to break the then existing laws in order to win their rights to organize unions. This is the same problem which black people and students have today. The politicians have tried to put black people and students in a bad light, just like they used to do to union organizers. When politicians call for "law and order" another thing they mean is that they want to crush the black movement and the student movement. Politicians and big capitalists want those laws enforced because that "order" keeps them in power.

This so-called "law and order" question is really a political struggle. The question of who are the criminals and who are the police is determined solely by who is in power—the politicians and the capitalists or the working people, black people and students.

Riots, and the "law and order" approach to riots, also have to be understood in a political context. Although riots are not a constructive way to bring about change the reaction to riots is relevant because those who loot are economically at the bottom. The politicians' answer to this is "law and order" There is another answer which benefits all of us—change the system which keeps people in conditions which cause them to riot.

Government and business crimes are at least as serious a problem as the other crimes, but very little is known or done about it since the people committing these crimes get preferential treatment. If a boy steals a hubcap he goes to reform school, but if General Motors produces automobiles with serious safety defects which cause thousands of deaths per year nothing happens to them. If a man and his wife in a black neighborhood have a shouting match in their kitchen the police are liable to come and haul him off to jail, but our government and the men who run it kill and maim hundreds of innocent Vietnamese people every week and are never called to task. This obviously will change only if we change the people and the system under which this country is run.

New Haven Independent Party

JOHN J. MOFFIT

Q: First, could you give us your evaluation of the Lee administration as a whole?

A: I feel that the Lee administration has made some tremendous strides and accomplishments... the redevelopment program, their attempt at social welfare programs, the almost complete reorganization of city government. ...He has brought national attention here ... through his redevelopment program. There are many other factors, however, which I feel that the administration has either ignored or possibly just couldn't do anything about.... One of the built-in problems I think the Lee administration has had to contend with is the basic problem of machine politics; that is, having to take care of their own party and party members, sometimes ignoring concrete progress in various areas, such as in the social welfare field and also in the city services field. And as a result, by their ignoring these problems, they have unfortunately increased the taxes to the extent — almost to an unbearable extent — in order to take care of their own party problems.

Q: Could you give a little more detailed opinion of Lee's redevelopment program?

A: Well, there's no doubt about it — Dick Lee has been a nationwide leader in his drive to redevelop the city of New Haven and possibly provide a key to the ultimate saving of the cities. However, in this drive he has ignored, or the program itself has ignored, the basic people problems.... Unfortunately, there are families in New Haven ... (these families are the lower-income families who can least afford these problems) [who] have been moved in some cases 12,13 different times.... In other words, they're just moved from one place to another; and there is no sense of belonging to a particular neighborhood or particular group of people, friends. And this is the one failing in the redevelopment program; and I do feel that this could be solved.

Q: Considering New Haven's fiscal problems, where would you get additional sources of revenue?

A: ...if a candidate is to hold the line in taxes, then obviously he's going to have to cut somewhere.

In addition to cutting somewhere, he's also going to have to go out and seek immediate sources of revenue — one, of course, being seeking these sources from the local colleges, such as Yale ..., Southern Connecticut, Albertus Magnus Another source, of course, will be by bringing new businesses into the city. and this is probably where most of the money has got to come from.

Q: What about property tax — how do you feel about that?

A: I feel that the property tax situation is going to have to be looked into quite deeply, because I do feel that there are inequities. Now exactly where these inequities are I really at this point do not know....

Q: Why do you think New Haven hasn't built any low-cost housing?

A: I don't really know; I really can't answer that. I know the need is there and the need has been there for quite some time. Again, referring back to a hearing that was conducted by the Redevelopment Agency in conjunction with the Board of Aldermen, back around eight or nine years ago: Dick Belford and Larry Munson, myself and ... a fourth person appeared before the Board of Aldermen. And this was in relation to the Dixwell project. And we insisted at that time that before they did anything, that they of course build low-cost housing in the Dixwell area. In other words, tear a block down but make sure before they did anything else put in low-cost housing. We were completely ignored, obviously, and now, or during the last two years ..., we see a vast, almost rampaging effort to get low-cost housing. And to me, when you rush something like this, the subsequent result may not only be low-cost housing but of course ten years from now might also be slum housing, which is what we're trying to get away from. I don't know why they haven't made an effort to build more low-cost housing.

Q: What is your position on, what are you going to do about the the Ring Road, Route 34, East Rock Connector, State Street?

A: I think Route 34 is a real necessity



for the city. I realize that this is cutting through the heart of a neighborhood, virtually as they did with Route 91... I do feel Route 91 could have been placed in a different place. However, with Route 34, I think it's got to go through where it is.

As far as the Ring Road is concerned, there is no question that some vast roadbuilding has to go into effect in the city of New Haven; and this is from a long-term standpoint, not from a today or tomorrow standpoint. What I've seen of the Ring Road—and of course we've got to remember that this is a rather secretive situation—the Ring Road is nothing to me except an alienation between Yale and the rest of the city. Now this may be fine with some of the people at Yale, but I personally—being a resident of the city—don't think that it's necessary.

As far as the East Rock Connector is concerned, I think the project has been scrapped...and I personally would be against any revitalization of that project... [The State Street project] is a project that's already on the books and very much in the way of being accomplished, so I don't think there's too much that can be done about it at this point.

Q: Do you think there is a transportation problem in New Haven?

A: I don't think there's any question about it. And I think the transporta-

tion problem is going to get worse, because the present administration would just as soon push this under the rug and forget about it.

Parking areas have to be provided for workers if we're going to attract any new business in the city. Now, the question is where do you put these parking areas? Do you put them right in the center of the city, or do you put them on the outskirts of the city and then transport people in?... When the Church Street garage was built, we suggested at the time that rather than putting all that money into one basket, they build four such garages throughout the city, that is, on the four corners of the city. But they were hellbent for election to put that one big masterpiece in one place; and they did it. Now, of course, they are building garages throughout the city, which is a little bit late, I think.

Q: Do you think some sort of public transit is an answer

A: It's got to be the answer. I don't know the exact percentage of people living on the outskirts, working in New Haven... But these people have to get into the city somehow; and to me just bringing more cars into the city for these people to park on the streets all day long or in parking garages... is not necessarily helping the businessmen of the city.

Q: How do you think redevelopment has affected small business in New Haven?

A: Drastically. It's just forced more and more small businesses outside. It's forced them into Hamden Plaza, to the various shopping centers throughout the area, not in the city...

Q: What changes would you make in the New Haven education system?

A: The first change I'd make would be to do everything I possibly could as quickly as I possibly could... My feeling is that we need an elective board of education, and there's no question about it. ...Now, I think if you had an elective board of education truly representing all of the areas of the city, all segments of the population, then I do think that the rest of it would take care of itself, the rest of the built-in problems in the educational system...

Q: What steps do you plan to take against the large industries that are polluting our air and water?

A: I don't think, frankly, that there are many steps that can be taken in such a small situation as the mayor of New Haven, except to try to exert as much influence that his office could exert both on the local and state level and of course the national level. But I don't think there are any steps that could be taken in the city of New Haven to do this...

Q: Do you think the people of New Haven should continue to subsidize Yale?

A: I wouldn't exactly say that the people of New Haven are subsidizing Yale. I think the people of New Haven have benefitted greatly and extensively by Yale's being here. There is no question about it. I do think that there are a lot of things that Yale could do. I do feel that in the last 16 years it's been a one-way street, that is, Yale has benefitted tremendously—a tremendous amount more than the people of New Haven...

Q: What is your definition of the so-called 'law and order' issue; and what role will this issue play in your campaign?

A: Well, so far this issue has played an extremely important part in my campaign; and I'm probably termed a law-and-order candidate... With the background of 3½ years in the FBI and the background of having a father who was a New Haven policeman for 40 years, I couldn't exactly take any other stand. My feeling is that law and order is probably the largest issue... not only is the campaign in New Haven but probably in a good many cities throughout the country, unfortunately. But I do feel very strongly that the politicians have completely ignored too many times the basic people problems; and the basic people problems are what are really causing the problem of law and order.

Q: What do you think its the source of racial conflict in New Haven, especially in the schools?

A: I was unaware frankly of a definite racial conflict as such. I thought that we had gotten over the so-called racial conflict period in our history... If there is such a conflict, then obviously the source is an outside source, and it's not a home-grown situation... If there is one, then obviously the mayor and a good many people in the city...

should do something about it as rapidly as possible.

I personally feel that the people of New Haven have for years done as much as they possibly could without pressure from the national government—which has finally come—and pressure from your black organizations—which has finally come—to give the black people a basis for getting up on their two feet and saying, 'Let's do something about it'. I feel that frankly working together all of these problems could be eliminated a lot quicker than under the present situation where, especially among the youngsters, there is no question that the Black Panthers, other militant

Negro or black groups, have instilled in these children a militant feeling that they have been oppressed and are going to continue to be oppressed. I think the philosophy is wrong; I think the philosophy should be changed as quickly as possible... before we destroy ourselves.

Q: Do you think that public employees should have the right to strike?

A: I don't like to see anyone strike, because I personally feel that the only one hurt in a strike in too many cases is the employee. I think that if this is the only way that a person can bring attention to a bad condition, then this is the way it's got to be done, and certainly a public servant has as much right to do this as anyone else.

Q: What do you think of community control as a remedy for some of the problems of the schools, redevelopment, the police?

A: Unfortunately, I believe it's idealistic. When you go to a Board of Education meeting or when you attend several of them, or you go to any other public hearing, and you see exactly the same faces, exactly the same people who are experts in everything... If you saw a true cross-section of the population, of people that are actually involved then I would say that this would certainly be a plus factor for community participation in all city government... I find that there are a few people who participate in practically all of these things; but unfortunately there are too few...

I'm not necessarily in favor of civilian control in any form, other than through a board of police commissioners of the police department.

Q: What is your evaluation of the Lee Administration?

A: The Lee Administration has short-range answers to the problems of our urban centers. We had what we thought were to be the forerunners of solutions to our urban problems as they were developed in the fifties and sixties. Now the mistakes, shortcomings, and deficiencies of redevelopment have caught up with the city.

Q: How would you evaluate Mayor Lee's redevelopment program?

A: I think in some instances it has added to a facade of success and an apparent invigoration of the city. Underneath it there are some very serious difficulties, such as ... redevelopment — although it started out to add housing to the market as one of its principal aims — has taken three times more houses off the market than it has replaced.

Q: Considering NewHaven's fiscal problems, where would you get additional sources of revenue?

A: People are quite legitimately concerned about any further rise in taxes. It's been raised about 13 mills in the last two years.

What we need to do as a city is to address ourselves aggressively to getting more industry into the city, specifically in the harbor and the waterfront area. There is a possibility of doubling or tripling our income from that particular area. The Sargent's site should have an industry located on it immediately...; it has been sitting idle for much too long.

Besides expanding the tax base with more industry, we have to look to federal tax sharing. Right now we're given categorical grants from the Federal Government for such momentous or trivial things as riot clean-up and rat control...Who says New Haven needs this?...So that I think rather than categorical grants we should be encouraging the Nixon administration to get tax sharing into the cities directly, as well as into the states.

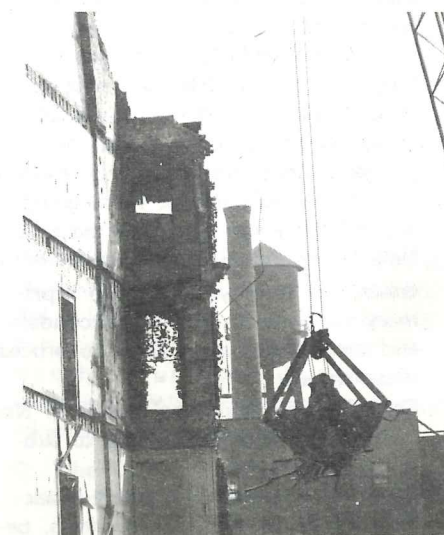
Q: Do you think that property taxes are a reasonable way to solve the city's fiscal problems?

A: I think that additional property

taxes would be an unfortunate thing. It has a downward spiral that was beautifully described about fourteen years ago by Mayor Lee: you continue to raise your taxes and you have a mass exodus of people who you want to keep inside your community. These are people who have the option of moving out. And from that point on, everything is affected, from leadership through schools and education, welfare, etc. I think what we should try to do is hold the taxes where they are and make it more economically feasible for a greater variety of people to live in the city.

Q: Why do you think New Haven hasn't built any low-cost housing?

A: It would appear that less than one thousand units of low-income housing have been built since Lee took office. This is subject to some question; but it is rather to be revised downward rather than upward from a thousand. To build units for low-income people you have to construct ... them inexpensively; and with inflation, with high construction costs and materials, I think that there are some real serious problems in making units inexpensive. So as a result we have to turn to subsidies from one source or another; and I don't think the city has utilized fully the opportunities available to it for low-income housing. Under the Federal Housing Act of 1968 there are provisions there, such as the provision being used by the Junior Chamber of Commerce in their construction of 330 odd units down by the railroad



station. But these same provisions could be used over and over again with industry helping to support this kind of activity ... and other concerns such as Yale.

Now, up at Harvard, it was announced that Harvard was beginning to construct 1100 housing units under this particular act.... Yale is in as good a situation as Harvard is to allocate some of its resources for a short range of time and even to some profit in this area — not as great a profit as they might get otherwise, but an enlightened profit of 7%. And I think Yale should immediately commit itself to the construction of low and moderate income housing under this act.

Q: What is your position on and what are you going to do about Route 34?

A: I made my announcement as a candidate from the site of the rubble on Route 34. As mayor, as soon as I get into office, I will call for an immediate cessation of activity on the site of the proposed new highway, and I will make an immediate investigation to see whether it is at all possible to suspend that activity and convert the area that now has been cleared in the path of Route 34 to more meaningful uses to us as a city and for the people inside of our city that particularly needs housing and recreation.

And I think that we have to attack this two ways: one is through state legislation — to take away the power from the highway commission, if it is at all possible.... Number two: as mayor I would resist the construction of the Ring Road. Same for East Rock Connector.

State Street might be a little bit different, but I know less about that than I do about the other three. And because of that I would only say now that I would investigate it thoroughly and try to suspend it until we made a complete investigation.

Q: Do you think there is a transportation problem in New Haven?

A: Absolutely. We'll not alleviate the problem with the aforementioned roads. Highways breed cars and more cars, and parking lots bring congestion downtown.... Peripheral parking lots, I think, are one of the answers to the ... traffic problem, the parking problem, the air pollution problem, safety problem, the mass transit problem. If we

could arrange a series of peripheral parking areas around the edge of New Haven ... we could allow people to park their cars, have rapid transit which would be an efficient method of transporting people rather than the individual passenger car. These bus connections would be frequent and strategically situated so that the people could be well served by the service.

Q: How do you think redevelopment has affected small business in New Haven?

A: I don't know. Are there any small businesses left? ... To say that you're going to encourage "black capitalism" and set people up in a small business — that sounds nice. But when you get these giants in industry and commercial endeavors competing against the small businesses that have been set up, you've really got problems because within a very short time those small businesses will have to declare bankruptcy and be gobbled up or dissolved.

Q: What changes would make in the New Haven education system?

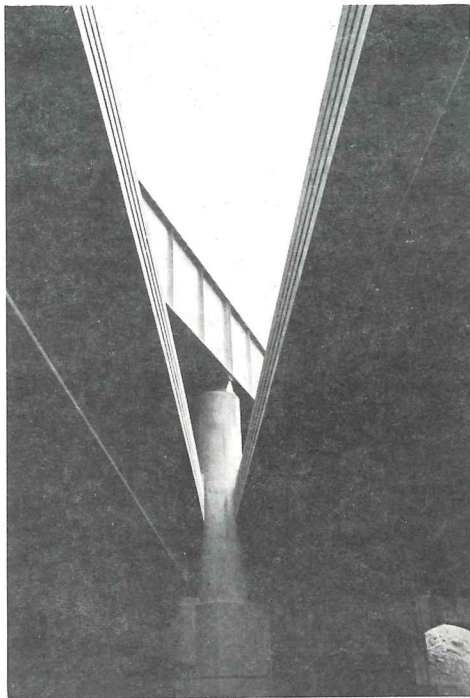
A: I think we've turned a corner in the New Haven education scene with the appointment of Superintendent Barberesi to lead our schools. He knows the territory as opposed to other superintendents recently. He knows the most important resource for the school system — personnel. Some of the changes that have become public recently indicate to me that he is going to make the best use of the personnel that he has available. ... I think if we can all work together with him, follow his lead ... then I think we're on our way up.

As mayor, I would give my principal emphasis to education.

Q: What steps do you plan to take against large industries, including the automobile, which pollute the air and water?

A: Well, the peripheral parking plan is one attempt to cut down the pollution. The traffic jam is where you get far more than half of the air pollution. As you know, federal legislation now requires smog control devices on all newly manufactured cars. I would hope that we could encourage this kind of legislation.

Now, as far as industry's polluting the air ... I've made a small survey of this, and there are three or four major polluters of the air.... Technology is available to reduce pollution. It's expensive. Now, there are several ways of going about this. One, you



can put the burden on the business and say, "You install these or we'll shut you down." But that has very serious ramifications. So it might be a combination of incentive on the state level, as well as individual industry participating, and these kinds of devices being installed.

But you have a problem there, too; because air pollution codes are not uniform throughout the U.S. This is also true of water pollution. So if New Haven has very strong pollution codes and enforces them, business always has the option of moving out of state. So we as a city and as a state should make representation to the federal level, drafting model legislation so that all states, through federal legislation if possible, to impose the codes that we now have on the book and are helpful.

Water pollution: One of the biggest polluters of the water is the municipalities. And it's only with regional grants from the federal level and greater concern on the part of municipal administrations that we're going to get the full water treatment plant ... New Haven still doesn't treat all of its waste, and it only treats it in a primary way. It should have secondary and tertiary plants available to process these wastes.

Q: Do you think the people of New Haven should continue to subsidize Yale?

A: No. In reverse, I don't think Yale should subsidize New Haven, be-

cause there is a danger there of Yale maintaining some control over where the money goes. Yale could invest itself in these housing projects, could pay for the services it receives, could play a more active part in planning and programming — ways whereby the city could call upon its resources or it could offer its resources to the city in a unique way. You know money is fine, but Yale has a lot to offer in other ways than money....

Q: What is your definition of the "law and order" issue and what role will it play in your campaign?

A: I decided to put out a series of bi-weekly releases dealing with the sub-topics of law and order, such as crime and drugs, crime and organized crime, crime and the courts, crime and penal institutions, crime and the mechanics of law enforcement. I think law and order is one of the most, if not the most, important issues on the minds of people today.

Q: What do you think is the source of racial conflict in New Haven, especially in the school system?

A: I will not use any tactics in my campaign which will serve to alienate various groups of people inside the city. To do so would be to make it impossible to govern in a fair, peaceful, complete, and honest way.

Q: Should public employees have the right to strike?

A: That's a moot question. I would, as mayor, provide the opportunity on a day to day basis — not just near the time of the new contract negotiation — from the very beginning of a new contract, for a day to day understanding of both labor and management, the administration and the union officials. Knowing what is going on in the department, knowing what the thinking of both sides is. This is the only way I think we can avoid this conflict, these crises, these picketings in front of City Hall.

Q: Given the present and past commitments in renewal, can a new mayor really make an impact, a change from present policy?

A: Mayor Lee was known as the Mayor of Redevelopment. He gained a great deal of national notoriety. His programs haven't really worked.... I would like to be known as the Mayor of Education.... I think that by putting the major emphasis of the new administration on education, we can change the course, the history of New Haven.

The interview with Mr. Gill was not extemporaneous

Q: What is your evaluation of the Lee Administration? How would you evaluate his redevelopment program?

A: By and large I feel that the Lee Administration has been a successful one, and has been good for the city of New Haven. Those who remember New Haven in 1953 knew that were Dick Lee not to have taken the lead in urban renewal that he did our city would be infinitely worse than it is now.

The major criticism that may justly be leveled at Mayor Lee's redevelopment program might be that it has concentrated on physical renewal at the expense of human renewal. I do not condemn anyone for this, for physical renewal was the natural thrust of the 1950's. Physical deterioration and decay was much more visible in those years than human decay. Now, fortunately, we are able to see the problems of urban America through eyes conditioned by the humanist trends of the late 1960's.

Q: Considering New Haven's fiscal problems, where would you get additional sources of revenue?

A: As far as I am concerned, the property tax has been exhausted as a means of raising revenue. I intend to tax those institutions in our city which do not pay taxes but use city services on a basis which takes into account the nature and extent of the use of services. Beyond this, the solution to New Haven's fiscal problem lies in Hartford and Washington. The state legislature must enact, in the next session of the legislature, a tax package which relieves the individual of the burden of the sales tax. It must enact a budget which channels more money to New Haven and the other cities of our state.

Q: Why do you think New Haven has not built any low-cost housing? What would you do to rectify this?

A: I can't assume the conclusion expressed in your question. New Haven has built low-income housing. It must build more.

Q: What is your position on and what are you going to do about Route 34, the Ring Road, East Rock Connector, State Street? Do you think there is a transportation problem in New Haven? What would you do about it?

A: No answer submitted.

Q: How do you think redevelopment has affected small business in New Haven?

A: I am sure that redevelopment has had

CHARLES GILL

Democrat—primary Sept. 25

a somewhat adverse effect upon small business, either because of outright destruction through condemnation or the creation of an economic condition incompatible with small business. Quite frankly, I would need to study the problem of small business as it related to redevelopment in depth before I would make any remedial suggestions.

Q: What changes would you make in the New Haven education system?

A: The thrust of my efforts in education will be directed toward providing the best professionals available to staff our classrooms. I believe that education is best left to competent educators.

Q: What steps do you plan to take against the large industries (including automobile) that pollute the air and water?

A: I plan to implement the New Haven air pollution control ordinance which I wrote. I plan eventually to prevent all industries from disposing poison gases and waters into our environment. It is naive to think that municipalities can limit the amount of air pollution from automobiles. Pollution caused by automobiles must be attacked at the source of the pollution: the automobile itself.

There would be no appreciable difference in the amount of air pollution even if we were to prevent the use of automobiles anywhere in the city. The diffusion of atmospheric pollution would still be present even if automobiles were parked ten miles from the city of New Haven.

Q: Do you think the people of New Haven should continue to subsidize Yale?

A: I think that I have adequately answered this question above.

Q: What is your definition of the "law and order" issues, and what role will it play in your campaign?

A: Who can define "law and order?" To some it is a code phrase meaning repression of blacks. To others it is an event symptom of racism. I intend to handle it as I have in the past: by recognizing that there is a crime problem but that it must be handled within the framework of the Bill of Rights. Improved police training, better equipment and more manpower are only part of the solution. The underlying problems of jobs, housing and education must be solved as well.

Q: What do you think is the source of racial conflict in New Haven, especially

in schools? What role will this issue play in your campaign?

A: Not being a sociologist, I cannot give precise reasons for New Haven's racial problem except to say that New Haven's problem is not unique. The problem involves economics every bit as much as it involves ingrained prejudice.

Q: Should public employees have the right to strike?

A: It is my general feeling that all employees should have the right to strike, for it is the only weapon labor has. Just because someone works for a public as opposed to a private employer does not mean that he should be deprived of a right which all consider to be essential to true collective bargaining. I must, however, qualify this general statement. Like Theodore Kheel, I have serious difficulties in applying this theory to those employees who work in areas which are essential to the preservation of society. A system must be developed to harmonize the rights of these employees with the interest of society.

Q: Given the present and past commitments in renewal and highways, can a new mayor really make an impact, a change from the present policy?

A: Yes.

Q: Community control has been mentioned as a solution to the problems of the schools, redevelopment, and police in our cities. What do you think of this as a remedy?

A: A potential partial solution.

BART GUIDA

Democrat

(Party endorsed candidate)

primary Sept. 25

Mr. Guida's schedule did not allow him to be interviewed by the NEWSLETTER before press deadline.

QUOTES ON VOTES

No reform is possible within the existing parties. History has proven that no reform was ever yet worked inside the party or sect in which originated the corruption complained of.

Stephen Smith, Secy.
Farmer State Assn., Ill., 1873

Even voting for *the right* is *doing nothing* for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail.

Henry David Thoreau, 1849

The ballot box is simply a capitalist concession.

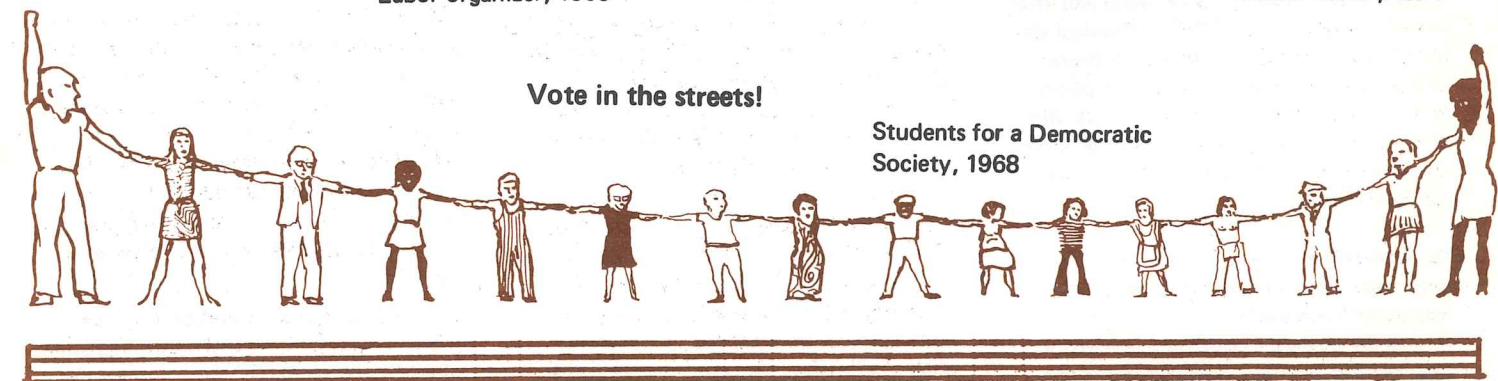
Thomas J. Hagerty,
Labor organizer, 1905

Voting for socialism is not socialism any more than a menu is a meal.

Eugene Debs, 1911

We the people are not free. Our democracy is but a name. We vote? What does that mean? It means that we choose between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. We elect expensive masters to do our work for us, and then blame them because they work for themselves and for their class.

Helen Keller, 1911



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